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FIGHTING

HOW THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF

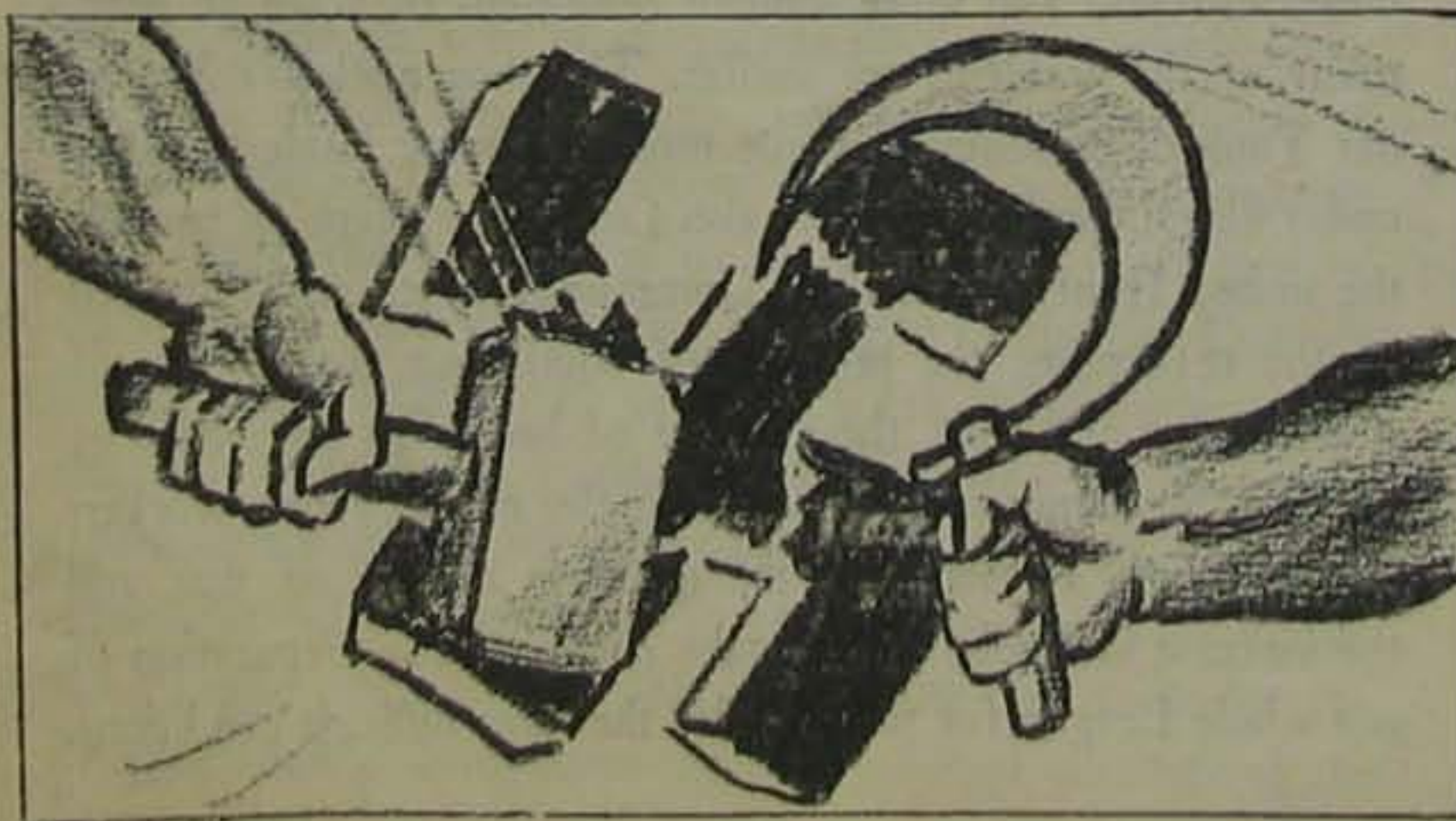
FASCISM

GERMANY FIGHTS IN THE FACTORIES TO

IN THE

OVERTHROW THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

FACTORIES



FOREWORD

THE heroic struggle of the German working class against the bestial fascist dictatorship has aroused the admiration of the toiling masses the world over. At the head of this struggle stands the Party of Thaelmann—the glorious Communist Party of Germany, which, day by day, despite untold sacrifices, is educating, organizing, and preparing the masses for the final conflict.

The text of this pamphlet was translated from a small vest-pocket size booklet printed and distributed by the illegal Young Communist League of Germany as a guide to its members in the factories. The publication of this pamphlet in the English language must serve a double purpose. First, to show to wide masses of American workers how the Communist Party and Young Communist League of Germany are working in the factories to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. Secondly, as a guide and aid to those revolutionary workers and working youth who are working in the factories of this country to overthrow the rule of American capitalism.

While the Young Communist League of Germany works under different and more difficult conditions than we do here, many of the problems are similar. The shop nuclei (cells) of our Young Communist League must also work inside the shop under illegal conditions. They also face the problem of forging the united front between the Communist youth and those led by the reformists, the problem of combating the activity of stool-pigeons and spies, the problem of becoming the leader of the daily economic and political struggles of the young workers in their shop. Furthermore, the growing danger of war and the increase in fascist terror make necessary the preparation of our whole League for work under the most difficult conditions.

FIGHTING FASCISM IN THE FACTORIES

THE Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Germany have the task of forming a united front of the fighting working class, and of leading it in the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and set up a workers' and peasants' republic in its place.

Since Hitler seized power, the national-socialist factory and trade union organizations and the Hitler youth bodies have developed into mass organizations. Tens of thousands of workers were driven into the national-socialist organizations by force and under the strongest pressure. The former reformist trade unions, and indeed all trade unions, were taken over by the Nazis, and the social-democratic leaders surrendered the workers' organizations without a struggle. Social-democracy remains as ever the main support of the bourgeoisie. As ever, it remains one of our principal tasks to win the masses of young social-democratic workers for the Y.C.L. If we form a united front with the social-democratic and Christian young workers, it will be so much easier for us to tear the tens of thousands of young workers away from the fascist organizations and the fascist ideology.

The fight for the united front is one of the most pressing tasks which the Y.C.L. has to perform. The conditions of work have become more difficult because the fascist dictatorship has driven the C.P. and the Y.C.L. of Germany into illegality. The Y.C.L. must develop itself into the leader and organizer of all the struggles of the young workers under conditions of the worst terror. It is only in this way that our League can aid the Party to prepare the youth for the struggle for the daily economic and political interests of the

young workers as the basis for the winning of new masses of the youth from the fascist camp for the united front.

What Principal Weaknesses Have Existed Heretofore in Our Shop Cell Work?

In the past, the League did not fight with much energy for carrying out the decisions of the Young Communist International and the Comintern in the field of shop work. Although decisions on the organization of shop work were made repeatedly at all congresses and international meetings, these important decisions always met with great resistance in the Y.C.L., right up to members in the top leadership.

In certain parts of the League there was an opportunistic underestimation of shop work, and, in part, even a rejection of it. The existing cells of the League are predominantly in small and medium-sized factories instead of the large factories.

The struggle of the cell in the shop is too little known by the public and among the young workers. The youth see and hear little of the mass work of the shop cell. Sectarianism on one side and opportunism on the other restrict their development into Bolshevist youth organizations. The inner condition of the cells is still unsatisfactory, because only part of the members cooperate in the work and carry through the decisions among the young workers in the shop. The support of the cell and its functionaries is often only in words rather than in deeds. A swift change must be brought about in this respect. A good inner condition of the cell, systematic work by the cell among the youth, the activity of every single member, are prerequisites for the mobilization of the young factory workers for the struggle, and the development thereby of the leading role of the Y.C.L. and the youth of the Trade Union Opposition among the young workers.

The Structure and Organization of the Shop Cell

Under no conditions should our cell stop its work in the factory or liquidate. In any situation, however strong the terror of the fascists may be, we search for ways and means to carry on our work in the shop. If the cell is broken by provocation, then with the remaining comrades we immediately begin the reorganization or reconstruction of the shop cell and carry on our revolutionary work without capitulating before difficulties. The existence of the Y.C.L. cell is unconditionally necessary if we want to organize the mass resistance of the factory youth against Hitler fascism. The sharpest, most irreconcilable fight must be conducted inside the Y.C.L. and among the young workers against all liquidationism, *i.e.*, against the self-dissolution of the shop cell.

Every Young Communist must feel himself a leader of the young workers and take his task seriously. Only in this way can we build a Y.C.L. shop cell working harmoniously.

The shop cell still remains the basic unit of the Y.C.L. under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship. All the Y.C.L. members working in a shop form the shop cell, the Y.C.L. organization in the shop. The large-scale shops, especially in the mining industry, generally have a large number of departments. If several Y.C.L. members work together in the same department, then a separate department cell is formed with these comrades.

In every department there are special questions which we must make use of in mobilizing for struggle. A member of the cell can develop his political work best in his own department. That is why the entire factory cell should be built up in such factories on the basis of department cells. The department cells work under the direction of the cell leadership for the entire factory, concretizing the latter's decisions according to the peculiarities of their own departments and carrying them into effect among the young workers. A com-

rade who is responsible for the organization of the work in the department is at the head of the department cell. If all the Y.C.L. members in a factory work in the same department, then, of course, the cell in this department takes charge of the work in the entire factory because then it is, in fact, the cell for the entire factory. It must, therefore, constantly work to bring about a connection with other departments in the factory and to have cells established there as well.

With such an organization of the factory cells, our cells will react to the smallest events, and they will be able to come into closer contact with the youth in the factory.

In departments where there are only a few Y.C.L. members, they should work under the direction of the Party cell, and undertake the formation of a Y.C.L. department cell.

Wherever there exist in the neighborhood of one factory other factories belonging to the same trust or corporation, the Y.C.L. cell must work in close cooperation with the cells existing in these factories. In such a situation a central instructor should be set up for the entire trust or corporation to organize and lead the cooperation of the cells with one another. The instructor must maintain the closest connections with the cells existing in the corporation. The leaders of the individual cells in the trust or corporation should meet together frequently, to discuss the mutual measures in their work, and for the organization of struggle.

In order to conserve forces and for reasons of conspiracy, and, also, because of the danger of overcentralization and bureaucracy, no special leadership should be formed. A single instructor suffices for such work.

The Leadership of the Cell Work

Every factory cell must have a competent leadership. The leadership of the cell should generally consist of the following:

- a. The cell leader, who is at the same time the organizer of all the work of the cell;
- b. the director of the trade union work;
- c. the director of agitation and propaganda;
- d. the director of the cell's protection and defense.

Of course there are a great many other functions involved in the carrying out of the practical work in the cell. The remaining members of the cell must be responsible for these.

In the large plants, where the cell for the entire plant is built up by departments, the leader of the entire cell maintains communications with the leaders of the department cells. The department cell organizers should be called to the cell meetings, in accordance with the particular questions which are being handled.

Every cell leadership must make a concrete plan of work for itself, in which it determines what work the cell must perform during the coming month, and on what points its strength and that of the cell must be concentrated. Periods in which the tasks are to be performed should be determined.

The leadership of the cell must consult regularly, discuss the carrying out of each meeting of the cell, and take the necessary measures for protection. The cell leadership should take a position on current political questions, concretize the decisions of the Central Committee and the district leadership for the cell, and inform the members. The leadership must learn to react independently and quickly, and with the correct measures for struggle, to events in the factory. This requires the greatest initiative and mobility from every Young Communist in the leadership. That is why it is the duty of every Young Communist to take an active independent interest in all political questions. He must engage in daily discussion with his cell comrades on the current political events in the factory and in the country, and propose suitable measures of struggle.

In some large factories with departmental cells we do not hold any meetings of the entire factory cell, for reasons of safety, but we hold instead cell conferences with a small number of elected representatives of the separate departments.

In the cell meetings political problems and questions referring to the entire factory are treated. Every cell meeting must be educational for the Young Communists. The tasks of every individual comrade are also determined there. Every member should carry out some concrete task daily, however small. The tasks of the cell are large, complex, and manifold. Therefore they must be divided understandingly among the comrades. Every member of the cell should take an active part in the work.

The cell leadership must naturally have the closest connections with the Young Communists at all times. It must know their attitude, their needs and their interests, in order to be able to react to them promptly and correctly. Every act of formal bureaucratic behavior toward the individual Young Communists must be strongly condemned. One must be particularly attentive with respect to the new and young comrades, and draw the developing comrades systematically into higher and higher tasks. At first they can be assigned to certain older comrades, so that these can help them in a comradely manner in carrying out the assignments of the cell.

The cell leadership should see that in the education of the members a number of specialists are trained for specially difficult work; for example, special comrades for pasting up agitational material and painting slogans in the factory, for the distribution of leaflets, for the gathering of information from the fascist organizations, from the administration, and the like.

The cell meeting elects its leadership from among the best of the comrades who are connected with the masses, and who

have shown in the past that they are good organizers. The election of the leadership, as well as all the work of the cell, must be performed in the spirit of a real inner-organizational democracy. The election of the cell buro should take place regularly once every six months. The election meetings must be especially well prepared. Of course, self-criticism and inner-Party democracy must be used also under the conditions of illegality, because they are two of our most powerful levers for the Bolshevik education and activization of all members. The cell leader must also have connections with the appropriate street cell, because frequently there are situations in which the street cell must help the factory cell, as, for example, in selling agitational material.

On the System of Practical Work in the Factory Cell

It must be the goal of every cell leadership to activize every single member and to draw him into practical cooperation in the factory. Every Young Communist has a definite task to perform. Every step in the factory must be of assistance in preparing for struggle, in winning this or that young worker, or in the work among the members of the fascist organizations. All these questions must be discussed in the cell meeting, and the task of every single comrade determined. Actions at factory or trade union meetings, in the shop, among the young workers—all this must be discussed in the cell meetings. The publication and distribution of a shop newspaper and the illegal publication and sale of other agitational material must be organized by the cell leadership. In short, a truly vital practical life must dominate the cell meetings, so that the individual Young Communists learn something and go about their work with enthusiasm.

In the division of work, the cell leadership should take account of such questions as the inner condition of the cell, what tasks can the individual Young Communist perform,

what is the attitude of the apprentices and young workers, and to what degree are they prepared for struggle.

Tasks which the cell members must perform are:

1. Publishing a shop paper; running the press.
2. Work in the fascist mass organizations and among the young social-democratic workers.
3. Work in the fractions (unions, sport, defense organizations of the Y.C.L., fascist youth organizations).
4. Organization of educational work.
5. Organization of the cell meeting.

These factors must be taken account of, so that the division of work and the determination of the tasks of the cell should be in correct proportion to the possibilities of execution.

The strongest discipline and the correct carrying out of decisions and the active participation of every single member, are doubly necessary under the present difficult conditions for the work of our factory cells. Every cell member must also be controlled with regard to this.

Educational work for the development of the cell members should usually take place outside of the factory. Primarily, the following questions should be treated one after another:

- a. The situation in Germany and the tasks of the Party and the Y.C.L. for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship;
- b. Our struggle for the young social-democratic workers—the United Front;
- c. Our work in the fascist mass organizations;
- d. Our trade union work under the new conditions;
- e. How we organize a strike;
- f. Experiences of illegal struggle (conspiracy, etc.);
- g. Working out the basic questions of the Bolshevik principles of organization.

The organization of education in this field must be undertaken without delay. Other current and basic political questions should also be treated, one after another.

How We Protect the Cell from the Attacks of the Fascist Police and Their Agents

Every cell must learn to develop the widest possible mass work in the shop without having its members become known to outsiders, and without having them fall into the hands of the fascist police. The cell must give the greatest attention to the protection of our work. Every Young Communist must take note: one must never mention to one's parents, to friends, or in the shop that one is a member of the Y.C.L. shop-cell. The internal affairs of the cell should be discussed only with the cell members at the meetings, and nowhere else. Whoever does not observe this cannot do good work in the shop and endangers the entire cell. Inner-organizational material should not be brought to the shop because it is often discovered in a search of the lockers and the comrade in question is compromised. It is also not advisable that the cell should always come together as a closed group during the noon recess or on the way home, and perhaps talk then about organizational matters. The cell members must always spread themselves among the other young workers. Each comrade should only know as much as he unconditionally needs to know about our organization in the factory. For example, if there are several departmental cells in the factory, then the comrades of one department do not need to know which young workers in another department are members of the factory cell there. If a stool-pigeon succeeds in getting into our cell, or if someone who is arrested turns traitor, then the individual in question can only betray a part of the factory cell.

Usually not more than six comrades should come together

in a cell meeting. If there are several department cells, then each one conducts its meetings separately.

The cell meeting is held in places where no one is disturbed and where no outsider can overhear. Homes or outdoor places are best suited for this purpose. Restaurants, etc., should be avoided. The place of meeting should be communicated verbally only a short time before the meeting takes place. In order to camouflage the meeting, one must always have at hand musical instruments, bourgeois song books, playing cards, and the like. Any organizational material which is on hand, circular letters, etc., must be destroyed quickly in case of danger. In order to be protected against surprises, one comrade must be set up as a guard at each meeting. The meeting place must be changed often.

Cell conferences for large shops, where a large number of functionaries meet, must be organized even more carefully. Each four comrades are told to go to a certain meeting place at a certain time, and there they first learn the real meeting place, to which they go singly or by twos. They must pay attention that no suspicious element follows them, and if that is the case then they should go to the meeting only if they succeed in ridding themselves of the person following. Every comrade must train himself to punctuality to the minute, if everything is to go well. *One should never wait more than five minutes at a meeting point.*

Only the cell leaders and the comrades who prepare the shop papers and the leaflets should be informed about the cell's printing facilities, mimeograph apparatus, typewriter, etc. One or two comrades must be made responsible for this work. The other members of the cell do not need to know who prepares the newspaper and where that is done.

If there is danger that a comrade may be recognized as a member of the cell, and the police or the employer have him under observation, then he must break off all connections

with the other comrades for a certain time in order not to put himself under suspicion, and not to endanger the cell.

Young workers who are new and not well known, and who enter the cell, especially if they come over from the enemy, must at first be particularly tested for their reliability, by being given a number of practical tasks which they must carry out in the shop.

In case suspicious elements are present, the cell must observe with whom they come in contact, whether they spend much money, whether they are interested in matters which do not concern them, etc. In order to discover them, one can set a trap for them. For example, one can say that an important meeting of the functionaries of the entire factory will take place in this or that place. Then one must watch carefully how he, the police, and the employer react to this. If such elements are discovered, then the entire working force must be informed about it, an attitude of indignation and hatred toward them must be developed, and everything done to have them dismissed from the factory.

In order to carry on the work of the cell after any political disciplinary measures, the cell leadership should hold from one to three members in reserve. These should immediately take the further work in hand in the event that the cell is broken up. For reasons of conspiracy, they should generally not take part in the cell meetings, but should always work in the closest connection with the leadership. They must prepare themselves practically for the leadership of the shop cell's work, and therefore they should do their work in the shop under the special direction of the cell leadership. On the nature of their work the cell leadership should consult with the next higher authority of the Y.C.L.

If a comrade is interviewed by the police or the storm troopers, he should not be taken in by their tricks and their clumsy maneuvers. They will show him documents with al-

leged confessions and signatures of other comrades, and say that they already know everything, that whoever confesses openly will not be punished, and so forth. But under no conditions should a comrade be fooled by this. A confession will never improve his position, but always make it worse. In every case the Young Communist must remember: *no confession is to be made to our class enemy!* One must be silent and remain firm—even when one is caught in the act. If brought to trial, then as a Young Communist one must stand flatly by what one did, and never express any regret or any excuses. The Young Communist must remain firm and true even in the case of mistreatment, and must not become a traitor to his class and his Party. It is precisely in the face of the class judge, the storm troops and the defense corps that the Young Communist must prove his resoluteness.

Organize Constant Recruiting Among the Best Youth in the Shop

The cell must constantly make efforts to gain new members from the ranks of the best young workers, and also to get a footing in other departments of the factory. The stronger the cell, the easier it is to spread our influence and to organize the struggles of the shop youth. The growth of the cell should not be left to chance. Every comrade receives an assignment to work on a definite group of sympathetic young workers, in order to win them for the Y.C.L. We do not planlessly recruit any and every young worker, but concentrate our efforts primarily on those who have an influence in the shop, and on those who work in the most vital departments. Of course, all those can become Young Communists who are ready to fight for our program. But the young workers who are particularly valuable for our cell must be constantly worked on by us with special emphasis. Where

it is necessary the assistance of the street cell should be secured, to make use of the addresses collected.

The Shop Paper—A Strong Weapon in Every Shop

The shop paper is an indispensable weapon for every cell. Its importance has now increased tenfold, because the central Party and Y.C.L. press can be published only in a limited form.

The whole life of the shop must mirror itself in the paper, especially the measures taken by the employer, abuses in the shop, the role of the Nazi shop council and of the fascist youth organizations. The paper must take a stand on all important political events and show their concrete effects on the youth in the shop, and tell the young workers how they can fight against these.

It must also write about other subjects of interest to the young workers, about sport, culture, etc. The shop paper should give a conscious political content to the oppositional attitude of the youth, and turn the will for struggle into the correct revolutionary path.

The Soviet Union must be given large space in the paper. The position of the youth in Hitler Germany must always be contrasted with the achievements of the young workers in the U.S.S.R.

Even under present illegal conditions, the cell can get the indifferent youth in the shop to write for the paper by asking in the paper that articles be given to those who sell it.

The cell should set up a special apparatus for the sale of the paper. Usually the paper is sold first among the sympathizers and one writes in the paper that it should be handed to friends. Today, if we give copies out to 5-10 young workers, that is enough. The sympathizers must be so instructed that when they hand the paper on they will not reveal from whom they got it, but will find some pre-

tense. Besides the sale of the paper, the cell must arrange for a thorough and careful distribution of illegal literature. For the safety of the shop cell, only 1 to 3 comrades should be assigned to this. In the sale of literature we must make use of the connections formed in the sale of the papers, of sympathizers, members of committees for struggle and unity, and members of revolutionary mass organizations.

In order to guarantee the constant appearance of the shop paper and leaflets, *every* shop cell must have its own typewriter and printing apparatus. The apparatus must be safely hidden somewhere. There are a great many plans and methods for making or procuring the apparatus, all of which we cannot mention here. The appropriate committee of the Y.C.L. should go into these questions with the cells. Every cell must get paper and wax tablets for the preparation of newspapers and leaflets. To set up a printing apparatus, type also is necessary. To get materials one should make use of connections in the printing shops, and the women and girls should be called on for buying paper. Usually all the paper should not be bought in one store or in one factory, but in several, in order not to arouse suspicion. The cells in the printing and paper factories should be made use of in securing paper and wax tablets, the cells of the dye factories for getting ink and colors for printing. The cell must make use of all connections, however difficult, in order to get any kind of material.

The next higher leadership in the Y.C.L. must organize a systematic use of all typists for writing the material. Not every cell has its own typist, and therefore their employment must be correctly organized. It is best if one or two members of the cell learn to typewrite themselves, in order not to depend on cooperation from outside.

The shop cell has the task of organizing the distribution of material (shop paper, leaflets, etc.) from the inside. It

is therefore necessary that certain comrades in the cell be selected for this work, in order to develop specialists for it. Within the shop it is possible for a comrade, who has good connections with the gateman, to be assigned to disappear from his working place inconspicuously for five or ten minutes, and stick a leaflet into the clothes lockers of the workers. Another is assigned to paste up one or two leaflets inconspicuously in the toilets; other comrades, again, have the task of coming to the shop perhaps half an hour before work starts, in order to put leaflets or shop papers on the work benches or the machines, but after this they must hide somewhere in the shop and appear for work with the stroke of the bell, so that no one shall know who distributed the leaflets. Leaflets can also be placed early in the morning on the transmission straps or the continuous belts, so that when the motors are started they will fly out into the work room.

Establishing connections with the employees in the offices and drafting-rooms is one of the most important tasks for the general work of our cell and for defense against attacks on the Communist shop cell.

When a struggle breaks out, it is essential to maintain the closest connections with people trusted by the cells in the business and administrative offices, so that the cell is constantly informed about the operations of the enemy of the proletarian class struggle, and can take measures accordingly. The anticipated measures of the administration against the workers must be made known among the youth by the Y.C.L. cell, so that the young workers are informed in time about the plans of the enemy and warned against them.

The Leadership of Mass Organizations in the Shop

The Y.C.L. cell should not do all the mass work in the shop, but must surround itself with a whole network of

auxiliary organizations, committees, etc. But the cell must be the central point, which leads all the mass work among the youth in the shop with the help of the fractions.

For this purpose the cell must work, even under illegality, in such a way that it organizes all the members of the Red Trade Unions, the Red Trade Union Opposition Groups (R.T.U.O.), the red sports organizations, etc., into shop youth groups. Each of these shop youth groups must develop its work in the shop in accordance with the character of its organization.

The cell leads all these mass organizations through its fractions. If none of our comrades is in these mass organizations, then it is absolutely necessary that some be sent in. All the Young Communists in a given mass organization in the shop must be joined together in *fractions* which hold regular meetings. The cell leadership must confirm the decisions. The cell selects one comrade to lead the fraction. The fraction meets regularly, treats questions about its approach to the organization in question, and proposes how to carry out the political line of the Party and the Y.C.L. in the mass organizations, and to turn them into organizations of class struggle. The fraction must act as a unit with a single attitude in the mass organization.

Beyond this, the cell must make use of all legal opportunities to win the youth. If a number of young fellows in the shop like to play football, then a Young Communist must organize the football game in order to come in contact with them. Another group goes to dances or to the theatre; and all this must be made use of by the cell in order to organize the youth. However, the main work of the cell should not consist in this; this is only a subordinate task compared with the principal tasks of the League, which consist of leading the economic and political struggles of the youth.

How the Young Communist Must Act in the Shop

Every comrade in the shop cell must observe the elementary principles of conspiracy in his mass work. The factory is the most vulnerable point of capitalism. That is why all revolutionary elements are ruthlessly fired or arrested by the fascist dictatorship. The protection of the cell and of every single member, the use of illegal methods of work, are, in this situation, one of the most pressing tasks of the Y.C.L. cell. However, it must not slip thereby into sectarianism and cowardice before the employer.

In every shop there is a large number of non-Party young workers who are interested in the labor movement. On Sundays they engage in sports or go to a dance. The Y.C.L. cell decides to aim at these young people, in order to win them for the cell or the Red Trade Union Opposition. For that it is necessary that a comrade in the cell be assigned to busy himself with these young workers and try to establish connections with them. He should engage in sports with them on Sundays, or go to the dance, and must try to learn their attitude. He can talk with them about shop affairs, about unemployment and other questions in order to influence them towards our views, without saying that he is a member of the Y.C.L. In this way it is possible to strike up a friendship with them and to win them for the preparations for struggle in the shop.

The Young Communist should not see his task in the shop as talking propaganda and babbling phrases, but he must systematically, persistently, and stubbornly work for the realization of the cell decisions among the masses of young workers, without saying every time that he is a Communist.

In the newspapers and leaflets which the cell issues, our Communist position on all questions must be presented clearly and openly. There one must make proposals for the organization of struggle openly in the name of the Y.C.L. cell.

But the individual behavior of the separate comrades must be disguised for safety, in order not to lose contact with the factory youth and in order to be shielded against the terror of the employer and the fascists.

If the Y.C.L. cell succeeds in winning a number of non-Party and social-democratic young workers as sympathizers, then it is necessary to bring these sympathizers frequently together, to talk with them about shop questions, about apprentice sweating, about exploitation, about low wages, about struggle against trickery, etc.; and these sympathizers must be given a number of assignments for the organization of struggle. The whole Y.C.L. cell should not be put into this work, but again only one or two comrades, so that in case of trouble only a small part of the shop cell will be affected. At these meetings of sympathizers one need not and must not say that he is in the Y.C.L., or even that the affair is started by Communists. One can say that he thinks that this or that is an injustice to the unemployed and to the workers, that this or that policy of the government is false, without emphasizing that he is a Communist; but he must say that this "injustice" must be guarded against and he must talk about how such an "injustice" can be removed, and so gradually win these young workers for struggle. Thus we succeed in widening the basis of our influence in the shop, and create a circle of sympathizers around the cell.

Our Struggle for the Young Social-Democratic Workers

The great mass of the young social-democratic workers is outraged at the policy of their leaders. Many of the social-democratic youth come to us of themselves, in order to help in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. If we do not know how to draw them into our struggle, then the "Left" social-democratic leaders may succeed once again in forming a "new revolutionary" social-democratic organiza-

tion. Therefore, it is our task swiftly to bring the opposition groups under our leadership. In this, we must not fall into the error of building up another social-democratic organization with them. We want to draw them into the struggle, and thus bring them into the Y.C.L. as soon as possible. The cell gives concrete assignments to groups and to individual young workers, for example, the distribution of leaflets, etc. When they have already come so close to us that they work together with us, then the cell must exert all its energy in order to win them over to entering the Y.C.L.

Work among the youth of the former reformist trade unions should proceed along the same line, in order to win them for the revolutionary unions under our leadership.

The Organization of Struggle for the Daily Economic and Political Demands of the Shop Youth

Despite the many minor organizational tasks of the shop cell, despite the fascist terror and the prohibition of strikes, the organization of struggle for the daily economic and political demands of the shop youth remains the chief work of the cell.

We draw the youth into the general class struggle on the basis of a broad united front, that is, the unity of the masses in struggle for their own demands.

The struggle of the youth for their own demands is the basis for winning new tens of thousands of young workers for the revolutionary class struggle.

In this struggle the Y.C.L. cell must show its own face, must realize its role of leadership and must put itself at the front of the struggle for the working youth. In order to organize the struggle of the working youth, the cell must use all forms and methods of mass resistance, even including the political general strike, and it must connect itself with the smallest needs and interests of the masses.

Right now, when there is a general prohibition of strikes in Germany and the Nazis force the workers and the youth to become members of the national-socialist factory or trade union organizations, a most careful preparation for the struggle of the working youth is necessary.

The Y.C.L. should not pass over any question in the shop which affects the youth and excites them. The shop cell must get to work on every little question which interests a young person in the shop. This is what every Young Communist in the shop must learn in the present difficult situation. Contact with the masses means to march with the masses, to know their position and their needs, and to determine the point where one can begin a struggle together with the radicalized youth.

It is the task of the Young Communists to deal untiringly, in newspapers and in leaflets, and in their individual activity, with the smallest economic interests (wages, working time, vacation, apprentice training, etc.). That is how the young worker will see that the Communists are right even in the smallest questions, and that they are representatives of his interests. He will acquire more and more confidence in the Y.C.L., he will turn to the revolutionary youth who are known to him or even to members of the Y.C.L. in order to discuss with them how the economically unbearable position of the youth in the shop can be improved. For this it is essential that we know the economic position of the young workers, that we take account of their mood for struggle. We must know the very smallest needs and interests of the youth, we must study the living conditions of the youth thoroughly. The cell must know the wage rates; it must know how much the workers are paid in wages. A Young Communist must also be informed about the principal questions concerning taxes and tariffs. Facts such as extra hours and wage reductions, or that where three men used to work

on one machine now only one is working, must be taken into account by the cell in the organization of struggle.

The cell must know the structure of the factory (the trust or corporation); it must know what is produced, what departments there are in the factory, and whether the goods are shipped to another factory, in order to obtain in this way a correct orientation to the strategically important departments.

The cell must know what the political constitution and union membership of the young workers is, and what the sentiment of the young Nazi workers is, what sort of activity takes place in the Nazi meetings, what the demands of the Hitler youth are for the young workers, what the members of the Hitler youth say about these demands, etc.

The national-socialists took over from us, before the seizure of power, a great number of economic and political demands, to use them for demagogic play and to mislead the youth. In shop papers and in leaflets, and in personal discussions, the question must be directed to the Nazi youth, which of these demands the Hitler youth organizations have carried out, and when they expect to realize these demands. Through our fractions in the factory cell of the Nazi youth and the fascist trade union we must request the carrying out of these demands, in order to accentuate the disintegration of the organizations of the Nazis. If the system of speed-up by foremen continues in the factory after Hitler's coming to power just the same as before, if wage reductions are carried out, if now just as before there is the sweating and exploitation of apprentices, if there is no warm water for washing and the sanitary installations are filthy and out of order, then we must take advantage of this, in order to organize the struggle for these little daily demands of the youth. One must say especially to the young people in the Nazi organizations: "See, that is Hitler's wonderful national community." "See,

that is the Third Reich in its naked form." Exploitation, sweating, small wages, etc., exist after Hitler has taken power just the same as before. By our activity, we must destroy the faith of the youth in the Nazi government.

In such a situation one must get to work immediately and energetically. It is necessary to set up demands immediately. (Struggle for sanitary installations, struggle against draughty rooms, for warm water for washing, for tea and coffee for breakfast, etc.) By setting up such small daily demands we succeed in driving on the unconscious oppositional attitude of the young masses, and turning it into the conscious revolutionary path by organizing struggle for these demands.

Demands

These shop demands are no dictate of the Y.C.L. to the youth in the shop, but they must be worked out together with the masses of the shop youth on the basis of proletarian democracy in the meetings of the employees and the department meetings, and in the gatherings of sympathizers from the action committees, with the delegates and unity committees, and they must be read out in the shop meetings and accepted there. The cell must take a position on the demands in its meeting and it must work out a general line for presenting the demands. A member of the cell is assigned to propose the demands and to argue for them. The cell must also write about the demands in the shop paper, in order to assure the role of leadership of the Y.C.L. among the young workers and to make known our Communist opinion. Before the beginning of the shop meeting one must discuss in the cell what the separate comrades will do at the meeting, and what proposals for the organization of the struggle the separate speakers will make in the course of the discussion. One must also discuss what proposals should be made for an action committee or a delegation for negotiations, etc.

Work in Fascist Trade Unions

It is necessary to make use of the shop meetings of the Workers' Front (the fascist trade union) and the shop council, as well as the Nazi youth cells, in order to mobilize the workers. We must appear there in more or less disguised form, according to the strength of our influence. There will be cases when our speakers will be denounced by the Nazis and arrested when they propose struggle for the real demands of the youth. At that moment another Young Communist must immediately be ready to call for a struggle for the release of the worker who is arrested, but without saying that he is a Communist.

Shop or department meetings must also be called by the youth delegates of the trade unions or by the action and unity committees, for the purpose of taking a position on the demands. In preparation for general shop meetings one can also have meetings with the sympathizers and youth of the mass organizations, in order to talk over the demands and the carrying out of the meeting with them. On the way home one should discuss the demands with other non-Party or even Nazi youth.

At the meetings a position must be taken on the realization of the demands. In this the cell must work very skillfully and carefully. We often succeed in starting a strike just by setting up demands which are rejected by the employer, but this does not always succeed immediately. Therefore, mobility: use all forms of mass resistance!

Forms of Struggle

One can send delegations for negotiation to the employer, or delegations of the Nazi youth to their district leadership, in order to discuss the carrying out of the demands. Or we organize demonstrations in front of the administration buildings, passive resistance, meetings during working hours,

expulsion of the Nazi commissioners and shop councillors by the youth, demonstrations sent to the corporation or trust leadership or the shop council chamber. We often reach a general strike only after the use of such forms of mass resistance. If a strike leader is arrested, or if the government plans a new terror decree or a new attack on the living standards of the workers, then at the next meeting a position must immediately be taken on this. Demands for the release of the ones arrested, for the removal of the fascist laws against the workers, for the overthrow of the government, for the legality of the C.P., etc., must be set up and adopted.

If we succeed in precipitating a struggle, then it is necessary that the cell immediately enter into it, regardless of whether the struggle is under our leadership or not. Wherever we do not possess the leadership, it is necessary to struggle for it. At the outbreak of struggle the cell must be guided by the aim: undertake to spread the struggle to other departments or other factories of the corporation or trust, or to branch factories, and to raise the struggle to a higher level of class struggle. The entire city, the working population and the workers of other factories must be called to take part in strikes of solidarity with the fighting workers. Under the present fascist dictatorship a small strike has great significance for increasing the strength of the proletariat and the working youth for struggle. During the strike the people must be called on for strike defense and for material support for the striking workers; at the same time one must begin to form a strike defense among the militant and revolutionary workers of the factory. In the course of the strike the cell must try to recruit the best participants for the Y.C.L. and the Red Trade Union Opposition. The most tried, the most active, the most devoted and the truest elements from among the young non-Party and the social-democratic workers must be brought into the

Y.C.L. The social-democratic, non-Party, Christian-Socialist, and fascist workers who are revolutionized in the struggle, but who are not ready to become Communists and still have great prejudices against the Y.C.L. must be won for the R.T.U.O., in order to make in this way the basis for a strong opposition movement in the fascist trade union organizations, in the national-socialist shop organization and in the shop.

Youth Strike Activity

At the outbreak of struggles under the leadership of the Party cell and the adult Red Trade Union Opposition group it is necessary for the Y.C.L. to enter immediately upon the mobilization of the apprentices and the youth, not to permit the isolation of the youth from the adults by the employer. In such a struggle the whole work of the Y.C.L. must be directed toward bringing the young workers and the apprentices into the strike struggle on the basis of their own demands. Only in this way can the Y.C.L. be the best and the first helper of the Party.

During the strike the Y.C.L. carries out all the measures of the Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition. The Y.C.L. organizes special meetings of the young workers and the apprentices. It is the duty of the cell, with the help of the appropriate street organizations, to arrange youth centers for the striking youth, where all-day-long cultural-political work, propaganda work and educational work can be performed. A special youth committee under the leadership of the Y.C.L. must be organized in the strike leadership. During the strike the shop cell must meet daily, and, if necessary, two or three times a day, in order to discuss properly all the events of the strike and not to let the leadership out of their hands. In the cell meeting a position must constantly be taken on the situation, on the cessation or the prolongation of the strike struggle.

The situation can arise where the Y.C.L. succeeds in bringing about a strike of the apprentices or of the young workers without the participation of the adults. In such a case, too, it is unconditionally necessary that all measures should be discussed and undertaken in close connection with the Party cell in the shop. Even if it is not possible to draw the adult workers of the shop into the strike, the Y.C.L. should not, therefore, be afraid of leading the apprentices into strike. Such a partial strike can be of great significance for the precipitation of major strike actions and for drawing the adult workers and the youth into the strike. Therefore, the Y.C.L. cell should work untiringly at drawing the youth and the apprentices into strike, and at preparing even independent strikes of the youth and the apprentices.

At the present time, with the increase of terror and the murdering of workers' functionaries, it is the duty of the Y.C.L., on the basis of the general struggle against fascism, to call the youth of the factory to strike in protest against these murders, and to turn, in this respect, to the entire working youth, without regard to their political views. After the end of the strike, the Y.C.L. cell must take a position on it, and in the shop paper expose the weaknesses and errors which were permitted in the struggle to the entire non-Party and oppositional youth, in order to learn and to draw out of every failure lessons which can be useful in the preparation of the next struggle.

Such a policy of struggle for the smallest demands of the masses assures us of winning broad masses of the youth for the class struggle.

Carrying out the policy of the united front in struggle hastens the movement of young workers away from the fascist youth organizations, and their entrance into the Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. must form its united front organs on this basis, especially youth committees in the action committees and the

strike leadership of the adult workers. The youth are drawn into these organs of struggle at the general meetings of the young workers, on the basis of proletarian democracy.

In this connection the shop cell must take an active part in the election of youth delegates of the Hitler youth and the trade unions, and it must try to get revolutionary-minded young workers and Y.C.L.'ers into these positions. The formation of a broad independent movement for youth delegates is one of our main tasks in this connection. In the shop meetings, the Young Communists must propose that the workers elect revolutionary delegates, who will represent the interests of the youth. In shops where the terror is very strong and where it is impossible to elect delegates at a shop meeting, one must try, with the help of the group of revolutionary sympathizers, to elect some sympathizers, social-democratic youth, former trade union members, and Young Communists, and then gradually to get a broader basis by drawing new young workers into the circle of sympathizers. The election of delegates and action committees can take place in the shops only on the basis of the broadest united front, and therefore the delegates or members of the struggle committee should not all be Young Communists.

Only if the Y.C.L. takes a position with respect to all events in the factory, mobilizes the youth for struggle, and acts in the factory as the real representative of the interests of the youth, will it succeed in winning the leadership of the struggle. It is therefore much more difficult to bring about a Communist leadership in a struggle or in a united front movement than it is to make Communists the majority in the struggle committees, the delegate committees, etc. The great skill of our factory cells consists in knowing how to get the broadest possible masses of non-Party workers, sympathizers, social-democrats and trade union members into the front of struggle and into the leadership of the struggle.

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In preparation for the struggle it is essential that the Y.C.L. cell shall acquaint the young workers with the chief slogans of the Y.C.L., as well as with its partial demands. In this the cell should not merely parrot the general slogans, but should explain the meaning of the separate slogans and demands, in the factory paper, in leaflets, and in personal conversations, so that the youth may know what they mean.

In order to assure the leading role of the Y.C.L. in all the struggles of the young workers, it is essential that every Young Communist has as his duty to be a member of the R.T.U.O. or of a red trade union. In the factories where there is no youth group of the R.T.U.O. or of a red trade union, then the Y.C.L. sets about forming one, and two or three comrades are assigned to form a youth group of the R.T.U.O. or of a red trade union. Members for the R.T.U.O. youth should be secured from the circles of the sympathetic youth and the former members of the socialist youth, the non-Party youth and the Nazi youth. Not just any comrades at all should be assigned to the R.T.U.O. youth, but the cell leadership should take care that good and experienced members of the Y.C.L. are assigned. There must be a Communist leadership in the R.T.U.O., or in the youth groups of the red trade unions. The Y.C.L. must follow the work of the R.T.U.O. youth attentively, must direct and help it.

Our Struggle Against the Fascist Youth Organizations in the Factory

In order to lead, direct, and organize the struggles of the youth correctly, as Young Communists, we must know all the factors which are against us in the factory. We must know our enemy, the strength of their youth organizations in the factory; we must observe the attitude of their members, and make use of it to mobilize these youths for struggle.

In the factories, the fascist youth organizations organize

a compulsory entrance of the youth into the Nazi youth organizations. Broad masses are embraced in these organizations today. Our Y.C.L. cells should send a few comrades into the fascist mass organizations, build strong fractions there and form an opposition group around the fractions. We do not form any fractions in the political youth organizations, such as the Hitler youth and the youth group of the national-socialist factory organization. Through the leadership we send a few comrades there, who do not know each other as Y.C.L. members and work apart from one another. They also have the task to organize opposition groups. No cell member should go into the Nazi organizations on his own initiative. This is organized only by the leadership of our cell.

In the Nazi organizations we must uncover the demagoguery of the leaders, expose how they swindle with the economic demands, and increase the disintegration of their youth organizations. The keeping of the demagogic Nazi promises must be demanded.

Every Young Communist must plainly understand that the disintegration of the fascist youth organizations does not happen of itself. It can be organized only by us, by the Y.C.L. The aim of the cells must always be to draw the youth who are influenced by the fascists into the struggle for their demands in the factory.

As the closest and the best aid of the Party, the Y.C.L. carries out the policies of the Party in the factory among the masses of young workers, and advances specific slogans and demands along the Party line, for the mobilization of the young workers. The Party cell should direct the Y.C.L. factory cell politically, and is politically responsible for the work of the Y.C.L. cell. Our Y.C.L. cell must inform the Party of every step and must always work in the closest connection with it and under its direction on all questions. The Y.C.L. and the Party cells have mutual representation

at their meetings and conferences. The cell leader does this for the Y.C.L. cell.

The Y.C.L. cell must also work together closely with the Party cell for the realization of the slogan, "A Y.C.L. cell alongside every Party cell!" The leadership must, therefore, be in connection with the Party, so that in the departments where we have not yet a Y.C.L. cell, one can be formed with the strongest support of the Party. For this purpose the Party can offer one of its comrades, under whose leadership the creation of a new youth cell is organized.

Where there is no Party cell in the factory, the Y.C.L. has far greater tasks, because it must go about organizing a Party cell. The best Y.C.L. comrades should concern themselves with recruiting adult workers for the Party and they should enter the Party themselves, in order to build a Party cell in the factory immediately.

The Y.C.L. cell must carry on systematic recruiting among its best members for entrance into the Party. These comrades form the Party nucleus in the Y.C.L. They must feel that they are the Party comrades in the Y.C.L. and they must fight firmly and inflexibly to carry out Party decisions in the Y.C.L. Loyalty to the Party is the first and most important premise for the education of Bolsheviks.

We achieve success in struggle and in winning the majority of the young workers only by fighting for the Party line and under the leadership of the Party. Only under the leadership of the Party do we work as its best aid in creating the united front of struggle for a political general strike, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

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